1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

423 614 is no doubt that a man tends to lose those rights in property which are strictly his, if they are located at a distance. Thus several men claim that they are legally entitled to hunt at Kitlobe, but from mere difficulty of access neither they nor their fathers have exercised the right, and it would have been lost in the course of a few generations, even without the utter decay of custom which has followed the advent of the white man. Practically, a man hunts only in the grounds of those ancestral families in whose origin myths he has names, though, theoretically, he is entitled to hunt on any hunting-ground of any ancestral family of which he is a member whether or not he holds a duly validated name from its origin myth. It is not necessary to confirm the right to property as with a name, though a validated ancestral name is the usual mark of a man's right to that area of the ancestral family to which that designation belongs. Although the ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical importance, it is, none the less, a [554] matter of great pride to a man to feel that he has rights in many places. The efforts of an individual to make good those [721] claims has often led to bloodshed; in fact, one intelligent old man stated that property disputes were the principal cause for [554] war in British Columbia. A person who lacks hunting-grounds is little better than a slave, whereas one who has much land is important.

The Bella Coola regard land as almost inalienable. Though a man does not own the land of his wife's ancestral family, he can use it and his children have full rights to it. Conversely, a wife can gather berries on her husband's land, though it is [574] not hers. A guest at a village may be allowed to use the territory of his hosts, but it does not become his. In the old 727 days wars between the coastal tribes were common, but though slaves were taken freely, land was never seized; such is un- 423 thinkable to a Bella Coola. In fact, several of the older people [567] inquired how it had been possible, in the first world war, for the allies, whose cause they believed to be righteous, to annex territory from Germany. If the victors had killed or enslaved

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was unheard of. 423 [727]

Since land is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it is not divided into small areas. Any man can build his house at will near the village. It is said that at Kitlobe the crab-apple trees are the property of different ancestral families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It may be mentioned that the Bella Coola somewhat naïvely assume that all other coastal tribes have ancestral families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their social organization. Since the concentration of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of agriculture, a system of individual ownership of cultivated land has sprung up. It is realized that if a man clears and cultivates a field, the produce is his own, and he can will this land to whomsoever he pleases. Likewise a man who rings a tree to kill it for firewood is the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which appears not to have been taught them by any white administrator. Its origin seems rather to lie in the old belief that any unpreëmpted land, far removed from a village, can be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a *sa'alam* belonging to any ancestral group, hence it is free to all. One corner of it, however, includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of *Tomait*. An old man, whose ancestral family lived in that village for generations, has set his bear-traps in this corner of the reserve for a number of years without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their traps. Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family. [829] [177] [428] [614]

Theoretically an ancestral family may die out. Several accounts were received of old men who, believing themselves to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their names 614 428 721

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bella bella NE5

BC 614 428 721

and hunting-grounds to those who had helped them in their old age. But in every case the gift turned out to be of doubtful value, since young men grew up who claimed membership in the supposedly defunct ancestral family and combatted the right of those to whom it had been given. This always led to war.

BB BC 423 648

The following is an instance of a feud which arose from the bestowal of a hunting-area.

It is said that about 1850 the people of *Tcawat* (probably Bute Inlet) captured a Bella Bella woman as a slave. She escaped and fled up the *Tcawat* River, hoping to come in contact with the Bella Coola, who often hunted in that area. The woman was found by the mother's father of an informant who carefully looked after her while he was hunting beaver and brought her back to Bella Coola, thence sending her to Bella Bella. In gratitude her father, a Bella Bella chief, gave her rescuer the hunting-area known as *Nulam*, near Kwatna Inlet, with the consent of the members of his ancestral family. The land so alienated should have remained permanently in possession of the Bella Coola ancestral family, but was too far removed from Bella Coola to be used regularly by the new owners. After the death of the Bella Bella chief, a number of individuals who claimed membership in his ancestral family asserted their rights to it. Many years later, after white traders had made their appearance on the coast, a Bella Coola went to *Nulam* and killed a large number of beaver. As he was leaving with their pelts he was murdered by some Bella Bella, ostensibly as a trespasser. But for the restraining influence of the white man this incident would undoubtedly have led to war. The informant still feels that he is entitled to hunt at *Nulam*, and did so several times when he was a young man; but his sons have never exercised the right, and it has practically lapsed.

BB BC 423 622

It is unfortunate that the above incident is drawn from Bella Bella, where the power of chiefs is much greater than among the Bella Coola. Consequently it is impossible to say

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

he beats in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that the name of the marshal in the town where the error took place may be blackened unless he does better.

As an individual *kusiut* who errs is punished by a marshal, so is punishment meted out to the members of a village in which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters are fire, causing concealed *kukusiut* to appear among the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of lashed canoes which are used in some of the performances. The obvious effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *kusiut* society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli* for any village which wishes to attack the one where the disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious. Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The marshals, aided by any other influential *kukusiut*, discuss the matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to take part, though they are told only that the foray is connected with the rites of the *kusiut* society which increases rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers, knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last century *Stuix* attacked *Alpâlael*; the assailants were aided by a number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not the case when the assault is caused by error in *kusiut* or *nusad* ceremonial.

Nor is punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out

J. McDougall E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
BBS Bella Coola BBS

only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at Kemano, that village will be raided by the people of Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even further away. News of the accident reaches Talio or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves relieved by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *tsulaxtsi*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *tsulaxtsi* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon Tzakus, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief professed to the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the rights of an individual member can next be described. Each *tsulaxtsi* has:

(1) *A Kwaiat Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name in this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *tsulaxtsi* wills his designation or designations, for a man may have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

G. McDermith B-1 (1902-1904) 1948
MSS Bellacoola 9/83

[The Breaker Dance]

* 575 * 740 648 688 [721] ● strate their own superiority; they had paid those who had witnessed their prerogative, whereas the Bulla Bulla Breaker had merely cast a stone without solemnity. Speeches were made, and it was decided that henceforth instead of waging war as in case of an error in ritual, it would be sufficient if the Breakers exacted punishment by destroying property. Thus is the explanation offered by this man as to why foreign war-parties have not more frequently upheld the law by raiding. As before stated, the writer is uncertain whether such beliefs are generally held by the Bulla Coola and of course the historical accuracy of the information is still more doubtful.

THE *Tsetsaut* DANCES

* 575 * 740 648 [705] More awe-inspiring, though less terrifying, than the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances, are the *Tsetsaut* dances. In these the dancer undergoes mutilation and death, but his supernatural power enables him to return to life—at least so it appears to the credulous non-members. The five dances known as *Tsetsaut* are:

The Stomach-Cutting Dance;
The Beheading Dance;
The Drowning Dance;
The Burning Dance; and
The Swallowing of Hot Stones Dance.

Each of these comprises a distinct ceremonial of great complexity, but only one prerogative is required. That is, a man who has the *Tsetsaut* right may allow his ceremonial to be run one year, and when he next performs will choose to display his ability to swallow hot stones. In this respect, it differs from all other *Secret* ceremonies. Although a *Tsetsaut* dancer is entitled to exercise his privilege as often as he wishes, provided his marshals consent, the rite is so difficult that it is rarely carried out.

[775] As far as could be learned, the Bulla Coola of today have no

G. McDermitt B-1 (1910-1914) 1968
NEA Bellevue 1985

WARFARE*

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

Prior to the establishment of British rule, there was considerable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and ambushes. These were never so continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Salish Coast were unidentified every few years. Nevertheless, war was secondary in importance to commercial rivalry. During the intervening regard and members of hostile tribes were even received as guests at some feasts. No protection they might be afforded to insult, loss or be avenged in the same manner as by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to enemy or guests. The symbol of peace and friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests themselves, used to blow this eiderdown up into the air whenever another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter to keep away to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads. At times, hostilities were prevented by commerce, and to continue the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was at all common. Even then the duties of commercial life were not entirely forgotten; as burial canoes went to war and

*Whether having long been discontinued, the war dance is here throughout the chapter.

seldom a chief who had given many particulars. Successful raiders hardly slew such as one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject.

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Koskimo especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often provoked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitlope, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to sail for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded to other communities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule as pretenders, and the invasion gradually increased until urged on to bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for vengeance; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a recognized wife brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of the kind between the people of Deas and Elquisko in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe.

The warring tribes of Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and Dean, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their conciliatory attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to [illegible]

2. 9th Growth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the side-fence and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Qmoyis*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of this town attributed their protection to *Alquntam*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune owing to that close association with him. Though Bella Coola itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and Talio, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at the head of North Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and covered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[1] This water-gate protected the residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one Kimsquit raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way and were probably colourably correct. Lack of a strong government was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being insulted, the members of the town would discuss retaliation, and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was decided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to serve under him, but he could not compel the services of anyone except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retaliation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola villages joined in a single expedition; there were often temporary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but complete lack of central organization. The course of events was similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a distance with much noise, shouting, and explosives, but few casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers succeeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn around the body and chest; this rendered quick movements difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were introduced many years ago and armour consequently became useless. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

2;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

If the war had not been of long duration in which extremely bitter feelings had been aroused, captives were often ransomed by their relatives, who came unmolested for the purpose when the heat of battle had subsided. Failing this, prisoners remained as slaves, the children especially growing up virtually as members of their owner's family as far as food and clothing were concerned, though never sharing in the prowess of his ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have been a rare practice. One extremely old Kimsquit woman related that in her childhood she had seen a captive stretched out on the hot rocks at the side of the ocean, fastened there, his testes crushed with stones, and allowed to die. No other similar traditions could be obtained and it seems probable that this must have been an unusual case. It is true that hostilities have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one about which reticence is to be expected, but information would have been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had been one which played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola.

Scalps were hung on a cord and dried like salmon, then suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head with one, holding it in position by weaving its hair into his own. At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs or, more often, buried with his other possessions. It is said that the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps in bundles to their canoes. When the Bella Coola went to war to recover for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over the grave of the person avenged.

At this late period it is virtually impossible to form any opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in glowing terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES
Tsimshian NES

these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack of discipline.

Specific Accounts

Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants.

Kitkatla War

For many years there was animosity between the Bella Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to sweep down from the north for salmon and slaves. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that it was unusual.

Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, there was considerable excitement in the community owing to the return of *Sladmula*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath stumpdolls and house-posts. Her diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

2;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEh Bellacoola NEh
Thompson NE15

B
T
527
[134]

shore of a river where "the white men got money stone." Then *Sk!wusle* began to go south, and was finally sold to an important chief living north of Fort Simpson. He used to beat her; in fact, she carried the scars with her to her grave. *Sk!wusle*'s master had another slave, a male Bella Bella, with whom the woman was on friendly terms since she was related by blood to a Bella Bella family and could speak that language. Angered by her harsh treatment, *Sk!wusle* suggested to her companion in misfortune that they kill their master and escape. The man was at first unwilling, but she assured him that she knew the route southward. The conspirators awaited their opportunity which came when their master went halibut fishing, accompanied only by his two slaves. One evening *Sk!wusle* cooked a large meal for him which made him drowsy as he sat by the fire; then she stole behind him, picked up an axe, and killed him by hitting him over the head. The two murderers carefully scraped up all the blood, tied stones to the corpse, and sank it in deep water so that their master's friends would believe that he had been drowned with his slaves. Then the two, having stolen a canoe, paddled off, hiding by day, and subsisting on what shell-fish they could gather. After many perils they reached Bella Bella, whence *Sk!wusle* returned home.

She had been carried off as a mere girl, but was past the age of child-bearing when she returned and had almost forgotten her native language. The Bella Coola were keenly interested in the tale of her adventures, and especially in the way that slaves were buried in Alaska. It was assumed that some of their own captives must have been killed in that way, so a slave from the far north was crushed in revenge. It is said that this custom was common among the northern tribes from whom the Bella Coola obtained several practices, although this particular one was carried out but once.

B
[46]
[77]

The most famous Kitkatla chief, and the one most dreaded by the Bella Coola, was *Tsikos*, who is said to have had almost despotic powers over his northern warriors. The name itself was transmitted from one holder to another, but the most

B
648
72.1
T
622
641
721

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 ellacoola NE6
Gimshian NEIS
Bella bella NE5

celebrated Tsilcoz was he who held sway between 1850 and 1870, a man of almost gigantic proportions of tremendous physical strength, and endowed with force of character and initiative as well. Pitted against him, the Kimsquit people suffered even more than before; there were few direct assaults, but Kitkatla canoes seemed always to be lying in the vicinity, ready to kill or enslave heedless fishermen or those travelling between Kimsquit and Bella Coola or Tallio. Friends of the victims repeatedly discussed counter-measures, but lack of leadership prevented them from coming to a decision for several years.

One winter, about the middle of the last century,[1] the Kimsquit determined to take the offensive at last. This act was discussed both at Bella Coola and Talio, as Semqa, the leading chief, Nazmäx, gave his support and many men whose relatives had been killed or enslaved promised to join the Kimsquit raiders. Among here who took part in the conference was a certain Lo-gun-x, an influential Bella Bella chief who chanced to be visiting relatives in Semqa at the time. It was decided that the rendezvous should be Hothnätz, Labouchere Channel.

During the spring those who planned to support in the expedition busied themselves with their preparations. None knew how large would be the force, since as usual, everyone of his own discretion whether or not to join in, some did so to avenge wrongs to their relatives, some merely to display martial ability, whereas here declined to repay their wrongs. As has the appointed date approached, and some fifty canoes, each containing crews to thirty men, gathered at the appointed place.[2] Thence they set out and encamped for a first night at Scotch River, Smilqas, near Bella Bella. Lo-gun-x became aware of meeting and the route that would be followed, as soon set out in lads to hunt deer at the spot, though, not wishing to circulate among the raiders, he did not hold them when they were likely to find. The canoeists assembled upon the beach, whereupon, before, departed, collected home to report what they had seen. Lo-gun-x had intended join the party, as he now set out to a small canoe with the two as pairs, after warning them that they must say nothing on home of his movements. His was equipment consisted of a weather and two paddle-shaped boards with small

[1] The approximate date was judged from the fact that the old man who told of the expedition in 1922 said that his father was about 7 years of age at the time.
[2] The strength of the expedition was probably exagged.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bella bella NE5

divisions, each containing a loaded and measured charge; these were novelties recently obtained in trade from the white man and considered very valuable. On reaching the place where the Bella Coola canoes were drawn up, *Lo-qua-t* called out four times:

"*Nuxmăt-a*, are you there?"

On being answered in the affirmative, *Lo-qua-t* leapt ashore, sent back his own canoe, and definitely joined the expedition.

The Bella Bella chief gave *Nuxmăt-a* one of the prized palette-shaped boards, and the recipient repaid this overwhelming generosity with the gift of a marten-skin coat which he was wearing. A Kimsquit chief likewise gave *Lo-qua-t* a valuable blanket-coat. As usual, the war-party was suffering from lack of leadership. *Lo-qua-t*, a properly validated warrior, was a man who had given many potlatches, and though not a Bella Coola, was related to them by blood; in addition, he alone knew the route to Kitkatla, so he virtually assumed command, although many of the Bella Coola were unwilling followers. *Lo-qua-t* suggested an immediate move, and gained his point owing to the fact that no one had a definite counter-suggestion. After travelling seven miles in the darkness, *Lo-qua-t* massed the canoes to address his ill-disciplined and somewhat uncertain force. He pointed out that the way to Kitkatla was long and difficult and that it would be dangerous to attack their northern foe-men, but that the *Wauyal-a* near at hand would be an easy prey. The Bella Coola had no quarrel with these people, and were reluctant to attack them, especially as there had been inter-marriage between the two tribes. *Lo-qua-t* spoke feverishly, saying that the *Wauyal-a* had mocked him in their potlatches, and that many of their women, gathering sea-weed on lonely beaches at this season, would be easy victims. His arguments were given strength by the fact that he was a *nuxmăl* chief and warrior; no one dared to stand against him, so it was decided to follow his wishes, though the Bella Coola stipulated that none of the *Wauyal-a* were to be killed.

The flotilla continued and in the early dawn raided a small *Wauyal-a* settlement and captured several slaves. Continuing their journey, they took prisoner a number of women who were gathering sea-weed, and destroyed the supplies which had been stored up. *Lo-qua-t* had joined the expedition merely in hope of getting revenge upon the *Wauyal-a*; now that this end was accomplished, he was willing and eager to return home, but uncertain how to leave his followers.

With this in view, *Lo-qua-t* suggested an attack on a China Hat settlement, adding that he knew where some of their frames[1] used in Cannibal dances were stored, and that the China Hat people were too arrogant

[1] Probably one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.
[2] Such as were covered with mats to represent human bodies.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5
Tsimshian NE15

in their ceremonies. Again the Bella Coola were unwilling, but again their unformulated and uncertain wishes were overruled by the dominant chief, and the assault was made. The frames were stored in an unguarded shelter near the cemetery, into which the raiders broke, smashed them, and threw the debris into the water. While this was taking place, a *Wa'apil'a* canoe rounded a point, and *Lo-qua'i* took the opportunity to jump aboard, saying that he was escaping from a Bella Coola raiding party. The canoe paddled away and the expedition was left leaderless. The usual discussion took place about what was to be done, but finally the raiders returned home. They had been diverted from their original objective, had been led to attack a friendly tribe, had been deserted by their leader, and the only spoils of the long-prepared expedition were a few slaves.

Among the prisoners were two daughters of a certain Oliwa, who was hated because he had frequently been in partnership with Tsihoa. A few days after the return of the expedition, the father appeared to ransom his children. Some of the Bella Coola wanted to kill him, others demurred, and it was finally decided that a spear, fastened to a line, should be hurled against his canoe so that it would project outwards and lodge against an obstacle under, capsizing the craft and drowning the occupant. The spear was thrown, but clever handling prevented the intended disaster. Oliwa was a celebrated warrior, one who never showed fear, so he calmly pulled out the missile and again paddled upstream. This time the Bella Coola fired shots close to either side of his head, but he sat unmoved and unarmed amid his boxes of presents. Finally, a Bella Coola tried to smooth off a tuft of hair from above one ear, but though he pulled with all his force, he did not succeed, and everyone on shore laughed at him. This restored good humour, and Oliwa was allowed to land and ransom his daughters. When he left for home he was told to send his friends if they wished the return of their relatives. This was done and peace followed; if Oliwa had waited a few days until the excitement of victory had cooled, he would have been able to land without molestation. The only other result of the expedition was that the Chiva Hot Indians killed their own Cannibals for having allowed their frameworks to be captured.

After this fiasco, the Kitkatla became even bolder and many years elapsed before another expedition was sent against them. This time, there was no Bella Bella chief to interfere with the arrangements and after the plans had been discussed for a winter, a flotilla from Bella Coola, Kimsquit and Tallio took the water one day in May.

Nothing of importance took place until, near Kitkatla, a canoe was espied containing a man and his wife. The former's face was marked with a vertical scar, and it was remembered that, four years earlier, when Tsihoa had been attacking Kimsquit, one of the defenders had shot an

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

B 754 the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but
[796] as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the
only time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had
promised to come to *Xwaiti*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly
to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learned of his pro-
B [719] ségé's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the
danger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing
over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the
earth. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook,
B the earth over the grave seethed as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it
[784] were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the
cloths prevented the return to life of *Xwaiti*.[1]

This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkeata so disheartened the
B Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who,
T flushed with victory, became even bolder than before. As usual, the
448 Kimsquit and *Tal'io* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the
main valley. On one of these forays, about 1835, the Kitkeata killed
[721] *Bakwalitsel*, a brother of *Putlas*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the
[722] time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member
[723] of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man
whose name was as well known as that of *Putlas*, *Nukkjinkum* of Fort
Rupert, or *Trahaw* himself. The fame of such chiefs was enough to protect
them except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were
justly angry.

B A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck
T Arm and was hailed about half a mile from the head. Seven women
448 gazed, and returned to *Kwaqa'o* with news that the occupants were
928 Kitkeata, and that *Trahaw* himself was among them. At once there was
heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had
lost relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party;
others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals shuffled
B through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were
T [724] answered, not with bullets, but by the four canoes holding aloft of a mouse-
skin, a sign of friendly intentions. If the strangers had fired on the scouts,
a fight would have ensued, but this potential suspicion disarmed suspicion.

B [787] [1] This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the murderers were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Xwaiti* was found on a mountain, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wan-
derings. This was accepted and the incorporation of suggestive incidents followed in due course.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 19[illegible]
N.w. Bellacoola NEIS
Tsimshian NEIS

killed, his reputation would only be increased by the manner of his death. At length *He-mokai* fired into the air; not until a shower of eagle down was blown forth did anyone realize that his musket had been loaded with nothing more deadly. This marked the establishment of friendly relations.

The Kitkeata had brought their own singers, who now began to beat out time for *Tsilxoa* to perform a round dance. He was followed by several other chiefs, and then the strangers gave presents to influential Bella Coola on the most lavish scale. *Pielu* likewise performed a round dance, and bestowed gifts on the guests to celebrate it; each were, of course, not returnable. A meal was then served, and after that *Tsilxoa* made a speech of which the gist was that the Bella Coola had previously known his achievements as a warrior, they now knew his nobility and bravery in risking his life, and that the name *Tsilxoa* could never be forgotten, irrespective of his own fate.

Tsilxoa left soon afterwards. It was somewhat difficult fully to comprehend his motive in thus risking his life. Undoubtedly his main object was to display his valour and disregard of danger. Moreover, it gave him an opportunity to impress these qualities upon the Bella Coola, and thus to exhibit his prowess actually within the enemy's camp, which must have been a source of tremendous gratification to him. The alleged motive, vague as telling a chief, may have been a contributory factor.

Although this visit was an intimation from *Tsilxoa* that the Bella Coola need have no further fear of him, the suspicions of years could not be immediately allayed; in fact, an occasional skirmish still took place although *Tsilxoa* himself refrained from fighting. A few years after his visit to Bella Coola, *Pielu* proposed to give a potlatch to which he determined to invite the northern chief. Many of the Bella Coola doubted whether the Kitkeata warriors would respect the safe-conduct usually afforded to envoys, and so one was anxious to hear the invitation. At length six chiefs volunteered for the task and set out, though with many misgivings. They stopped en route at Bella Bella where a chief of that tribe, *Omgas*, joined the party; he thought that he would have influence with the Kitkeata and might add protection to the Bella Coola. Fearing to be seen by any small Kitkeata bands, the delegation travelled only by night until they could actually reach *Tsilxoa*'s village. As they paddled up, they endeavored their mission by singing one of *Pielu*'s round songs. On hearing this, *Tsilxoa* asked one of his Bella Coola slaves whose song it might be, and when he answered that it was one of *Pielu*'s, *Tsilxoa* despatched a chief, *Tsetsun*, to invite the guests to his house. *Omgas* was doubtful when he saw this man approaching, since he felt that it heralded a friendly welcome. The party was conducted to *Tsilxoa*'s

[i.e. to the peace negotiations - Analyst]

Z:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA
Tsimshian NE15

dwelling in spite of the fact that a Camchel dance was taking place there. All the messengers were feasted in Bella Coola, while those but Bella Bella rights as well; Tsakes allowed the latter to take part in the ceremony while the former were treated as uninvited. They were greatly interested in the details of the Kitkatla rites, which were exceedingly strict and included the saving of a corpse. At the conclusion, the servers received their share of the small presents which were distributed.

At this juncture one of the servers, Xwaxwaxlala, fell seriously ill and was cured only through the attention and care of one of Tsakes's wives. This delayed their departure so that it was a long time before they and the invited guests finally set out, much to the envy of two Bella Coola slaves who greatly desired to return home.

Meanwhile the long absence of the messengers had filled the Bella Coola with fear that they had been massacred, and there was great rejoicing when a large flotilla was seen approaching. The guests landed on the shore at Qumqs where the customary ceremonious greetings were exchanged. Many of the Bella Coola, inflamed by ancient wrongs, endeavoured to break the canons of the guests and in other ways to threaten them, but Tsakes finally succeeded in restraining them and establishing some kind of discipline. The ceremony that took place that night in the house of Tsakes is said to have been the most spectacular ever witnessed in Bella Coola. One old man who, as a mere lad, had attended, grew eloquent as he spoke of the lavish display. Unfortunately, he had had no part in the rites and could remember none of the details except that his childish mind was amazed at a dance in which a masked performer, representing a whale, vomited grease on the fire to give light. Tsakes did not return home immediately, but remained in Bella Coola until spring when the weather was more suitable for travelling.

The exchange of hospitality actually ended all hostilities, although the Bella Coola and other tribes of the central coast still regard their northern neighbours with dislike and suspicion. Between 1880 and 1890 a party of Rivers Inlet people went to Kitkatla to prepare chicken grease, for which purpose a number of Kitkatla had also camped there. Among them was Tsakes, a descendant of the warrior chief whose nephews have been mentioned, and his nephew. One day the latter was gambling with Mkaus-a, a Rivers Inlet youth who had recently been initiated into the Hamat'sa society and was consequently decorated with a cedar-bark collar. Mkaus-a's luck was unusually good and some of the Kitkatla friends asked him why he continued to play with a man who was clearly in such close contact with the supernatural that he could not lose. Heedless of this advice, Tsakes's nephew continued until finally, losing his temper, he

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

B
T
648
721

seized his adversary's decorations and threw them on the ground. It is well known that anyone who does so, even *if* it be the wearer, will be punished. *Matsw-a* was prevented from fighting by his recent initiation, but he shamed his opponent by returning his winnings. The next day the Rivers Inlet people left for home without stopping to collect grease, since *Matsw-a*'s father, *Pathe*,[1] thought that it would be dangerous to linger in the neighbourhood of *Tsdzes*, who was angry at his nephew's defeat and the insult shown to him.

The Kitkatla remained at Kitlobe for the olachen season and then returned home. Soon afterwards *Tsdzes*'s nephew fell ill, and died in spite of the efforts of the most powerful shamans. They attributed his death to *Matsw-a*, and *Tsdzes* swore revenge on the Rivers Inlet people. The latter, hearing of this, avoided the Kitkatla as much as possible, although the establishment of British rule had made open warfare impossible.

One July, a number of years later, a party left Rivers Inlet to hunt sea-lions on Virgin Rocks. The captain of the canoe was a Newitte man who had married a Rivers Inlet woman, and with him were nine Bella Coola and several Rivers Inlet people including two female relatives of *Matsw-a*. In a heavy fog they passed their destination, and when, having realised their mistake, they turned back, they found a party of Kitkatla encamped on the rocks. The northerners made protestations of friendship and lent them tents. When they had settled down, the Kitkatla suggested target shooting as a recreation, although their real motive was to exhaust the ammunition of the Rivers Inlet people. When this sport began to pall, the two parties gambled till nightfall, when they stacked their muskets together as proof of mutual trust and went to bed. A Kitkatla half-breed, who had taken the lead in making amicable overtures, now learnt that his companions planned to slay the Rivers Inlet people; he tried to dissuade them, but was told that interference from him would only cause his own death. One of the Rivers Inlet men, *Ey'ākkis*, suspicious of treachery, declined to sleep with his fellows and spent the night in the canoe, his musket and two shells beside him. His fears were well-founded; at dawn the Kitkatla cut down the tents of the Rivers Inlet people and clubbed them to death with axes as they were struggling under the folds. *Ey'ākkis* was wakened by the turmoil and fired twice, each time killing a Kitkatla, but his ammunition was then exhausted and he was shot down. The murderers dug a large hole on the beach, threw in the corpses of their victims and rolled a heavy log over the top. Unknown to the others, the half-breed wrote on this in English that something lay below. The Kitkatla made an effort to hide the

[1] The relatives of the Bella Coola chief with the same name.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

B
I
E48
721

marks of the tragedy and then returned home, hoping that suspicion would not fall on them.

As time went on, the people in Rivers Inlet began to worry at lack of news from the hunters. A passing traveller reported having seen smoke on Virgin Rocks, and this reassured them temporarily, but when several months had passed a search-party was sent out. One of the crew was a Carrier who had married a Rivers Inlet woman and had long resided there, but had not forgotten his knowledge of all that pertained to woodcraft. On arrival at the island, they found the canoe of the missing party drawn up on the beach above high tide, although there was no trace of their friends. The Carrier went ahead to investigate, warning his comrades to remain at a distance. He found the marks of buck-shot, smoothed over as if to obliterate them, but not sufficiently effaced to hide them from his sharp eyes. This attempt at concealment indicated foul play, and the Carrier called his companions and pointed out the signs to them. None of the sea-lion hunters had carried ammunition of this kind, but it was known that some Kitkatla had been in the vicinity about the time of the disappearance and were armed therewith. As a matter of fact, the marks were actually those of the shot with which Ts'ebiks had been killed. The Carrier next found potato peelings, trodden into the earth by boots; none of the hunters had taken food with them, but it was known that such had been worn by the Kitkatla. Having made these discoveries, the search-party returned home. Foul play was suspected; everything indicated that it had not been a struggle between members of the same party, but there was too little evidence to convict the Kitkatla.

A few weeks later a Bella Bella chief happened to be in Rivers Inlet and told the people that he had met a Kitkatla canoe returning northwards with two coffins. He had asked who were dead, but though they told him, he judged that the party had been engaged in some illegal operation from their reticence concerning the cause of death. Still later, a young Bella Coola travelled to Vancouver on the steamboat with a Kitkatla who told him of the slaughter, ignorant of his companion's tribe. Finally, the Kitkatla half-breed, who had opposed the killing, began to drop hints of what had happened. In former times this would have led to war, but the evidence was not conclusive enough for a court of justice. The Kitkatla informed their Indian Agent that they feared an attack from the Rivers Inlet and Bella Coola, and asked him to lead a peace delegation to the former's village. He did so,[1] much to the surprise of the missionary established there. The conference led to nothing; the Kitkatla denied all knowledge of the fate of the missing hunters, but the suspicions of the Rivers Inlet and Bella Coola were increased rather than

[1] No attempt was made to verify this statement from official documents.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NE5
Tsimshian NE15
Kwakiutl NE10

leavened. This ill-will has continued up to the present time. In 1920 word reached Bella Coola that *Tsikoa* had approached a Quesnino chief and asked him to spread the rumour that the missing party had been drowned at sea, at the same time admitting what had taken place. A year later a half-breed Kwesnino, hunting on Virgin Rocks, happened to unearth the bones buried beneath the log. There the matter rests for the moment so far as the Bella Coola are concerned, but they express the opinion that the continued ill-will may cause bloodshed at any time.

It must be remembered that the above account of this recent friction with the Kitkatla is of a partisan nature. No attempt was made to learn the Kitkatla side of the matter, so that the version here given may or may not be the truth. It has been inserted as an illustration of Bella Coola attitude, and of the manner in which, formerly, doubts, fears and suspicions led to war. This would certainly have been the case in the present instance but for the restraining influence of the white man's rule.

KWAKIUTL WAR

Only slightly less feared than the Kitkatla were the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples, especially those inhabiting Knight's Inlet, Kingcome Inlet, and Blunden Harbour, who were known collectively as *Djelikena*. As *Tsikoa* was feared among the northern raiders, so was *Imid* among the southerners. Bella Coola itself was too difficult of access and too densely populated to be successfully attacked, but *Tal'es* was subject to constant raids. Even more disconcerting was the constant danger of lurking enemies; one year it would be a hunter who was surprised and killed, the next a party of women would be carried off while picking berries.

The raiders became so bold that the inhabitants of one of the *Tal'es* villages decided to defend themselves by building a stockade. Everyone assisted in the task, so that the fortification was soon completed. It consisted of a fence of vertical logs with a platform running around near the top, on the inner side, on which the defenders could stand, and a water-gate through which canoes could enter at high tide. It surrounded five or six houses and was planned as a place of refuge for all the *Tal'es* villages. One of the two cranks brought for the stockade was hollow, and there was considerable discussion as to whether it should be used, but finally it was set up with the others. A Kwakiutl who was visiting *Tal'es* at the time took notice of this weakness, but no one seems to have suspected that he would inform his friends of it when he went home.

The summer after the stockade had been completed the Kwakiutl discussed the usual raid on *Tal'es*; one of the principal chiefs opposed an expedition on the ground of the reputed strength of the defences, but

! [a famous Tsimshian chief - ANALYST]

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NE8
KwaKiutl NE10

he was over-ruled by the popular wish and the raiders set out. They had chosen an opportune time, since most of the people were absent hunting and fishing; in fact, three men and three children were the sole occupants of the fortified village. They saw the approaching marauders in the distance, closed all openings, and prepared to defend themselves. The Kwakiutl felled a large tree and with this as ram attempted to batter down the gate. It was too strongly built, and while struggling with it, the attackers offered excellent targets to those within. One of them, *Inung*, was a good shot and took heavy toll. Convinced that the gate was too strong for them, the Kwakiutl turned their attention to the hollow log; their ram failed to shatter it and they again suffered heavy casualties. Nor had the defenders escaped scotheless. One of the three was struck by an enemy bullet, another fell from the fighting-platform and accidentally shot himself, while *Inung*'s powder began to fail. Fearing that all was lost, he told one of the little boys to open a concealed rear door[*] and flee into the woods with the two smaller children. The three managed to escape unobserved from the village and hid themselves under leaves. The Kwakiutl did not know how weakly the stockade was defended, and *Inung* disguised the fact by rushing from one part of the platform to another and calling out in various tones as if a number of people were speaking. He could fire only occasionally on account of shortage of powder, but the ruse was effective and at last the raiders withdrew, carrying their dead with them. Two of them wandered into the forest instead of accompanying their comrades; they must have died of starvation, since their corpses were found in an emaciated condition several weeks later.

Not content with defeating the raiders almost single-handed, *Inung* embarked in a small canoe and cautiously followed the course which he knew they must have taken. His children had been slain by the Kwakiutl during a previous raid, a circumstance which had so embittered him that he regretted the escape of a single one of them, and was determined to treat even their dead with ignominy. At length he noticed a number of crows congregated on a sandy beach, and rightly judged that this indicated the spot where the vanquished had buried their slain. *Inung* exhumed one of the corpses and impaled it on a stake in a crouching position.

Meanwhile the relatives of the raiders, expecting the usual easy success, had gathered near their leader's house. They were filled with apprehension when they heard a mourning song from the returning canoes, and anxiously called out to learn the fate of different members

*Probably a mere chink in the stockade.

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Kwakiutl NE10

K 727 B K 921 648 K B 648 727 B 727

of the expedition. Some were able to answer for themselves, but to many queries the reply came that the one asked about had been slain.

This defeat did not by any means discourage the Kwakiutl, whose forays continued as before. On one occasion, as they were returning homewards, they noticed several canoes drawn up on the west side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its junction with Burke Channel. The raiders cautiously landed and stalked the unsuspecting owners, Bella Coola who had landed to cut stakes for a salmon-weir. The Kwakiutl bore down upon them with a rush; unarmed and taken unaware, the Bella Coola could make no real resistance. One of them managed to flee into the deeper woods, but the rest were either killed or captured. Among the prisoners was a chief, *Sunā'luxam*, who was wearing a handsome marten-skin cloak at the time. His captor promptly appropriated this, leaving the man naked.

Elated at this success, the Kwakiutl continued their return journey. When near Kwatna, they encountered a fierce southeast gale which made progress impossible; at this point cliffs rise so precipitously on either side of Burke Channel that there is not even the semblance of a harbour, and the only chance to weather the storm was by anchoring. There was considerable anxiety as to whether or not the weight would hold, but it did so, and the canoe remained tied, now carried to the full extent of the mooring-rope almost against the cliffs, now to the same distance far out in mid-channel. Towards night it began to rain and the cold grew bitter. The crew, assured that the anchor would hold and weary from their exertions, went to sleep, as did most of the prisoners. *Sunā'luxam*, without covering of any kind, was too uncomfortable to follow their example. As the canoe was tossed near the cliff, he happened to notice a narrow ledge just above water, with a small cedar growing in a nearby cleft. Here was a possibility of escape and the chief became alert at once. When next the canoe was dashed near he examined the cliff more closely, and decided that it might be possible to scale it. At any rate death was better than captivity, and he determined to make the venture. As the craft came shorewards again, he plunged overboard into the rough water and succeeded in grasping the tree-root with the aid of which it was an easy matter to pull himself to the ledge. The surf was breaking over it and he was bitterly cold, but he managed to reach another root and to scramble up to a second ledge. From it he gained a wider projection where he could rest in comfort. His escape had been unobserved, and as *Sunā'luxam* looked downward he could see the canoe tossing to and fro at the end of the cable; there was a large boulder near him, and he thought of tipping this over to sink the craft, but refrained out of consideration for the prisoners. From this point the climb upwards was comparatively simple,

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
KwaKiuth NE10

of Kwatna, a woman called down to them from the upper slopes of the mountains on the south-east. She was one of a party of Kwatna people who were picking berries; their canoes were lying in a bay beneath, where the youths of the party were resting and sleeping, ready to climb up and carry down the boxes of berries as the women filled them. *Bilxwalakt*, the woman who had called out, had done so under the impression that those passing were Bella Coola, and though one of her companions recognized her error and bade her be silent, the intimation had been given. The raiders would have passed in mid-channel unaware that anyone was in the vicinity, but now they quickly entered the bay and slew the few lads who were with the canoes. Next they endeavoured to capture the women and started climbing up for the purpose, but as soon as they entered the woods, they lost sight of the fugitives who were on the open slopes above. One of the canoes was paddled back to mid-channel, whence there was a clear view so that the crew could call out and direct their comrades' pursuit. Two of the women had started climbing as soon as they saw the warriors turn inwards; they escaped over the mountains and reached Kwatna with word of the affray. With one exception, the others kept together and sought refuge in a narrow cave, the entrance of which they were able to defend; the attackers did not dare linger for a siege, so they too escaped. But *Bilxwalakt*, the cause of the whole disaster, was cut off from her companions and harried from place to place as she strove frantically to get away. When finally brought to bay, she struggled furiously and refused to be taken alive, so her throat was cut and the body decapitated. She was a member of a chief's family, a woman who had been confirmed on a good seat, so the murder was entirely contrary to all coastal customs. If she had been taken prisoner, she would have been ransomed and the matter would have ended, but her death demanded revenge.

When the two women who had fled overland reached Kwatna, a party of warriors set out immediately, but could do no more than bring back the women who had hidden in the cave. Meanwhile the Kwakiutl continued their voyage and encamped at Jacobsen's Bay where they watched a Bella Bella canoe pass up the channel towards Bella Coola. They concluded that the Kimsquit people, whose canoes they had destroyed, would hail this passing craft and thus reach Bella Coola with news of raiders in the vicinity. So it transpired, while almost simultaneously came news from Kwatna of the woman's murder, but by this time the Kwakiutl had reached home waters.

Bilxwalakt's parents had been Kwatna people, her husband was a Bella Bella, and she had Bella Coola ancestry as well, so the members of these three tribes were all affronted by this killing of a chief. At Bella

2:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NEA Deliverable NES

Coulo the important men of *Iqaut*, *Tuktuk*, and *Sigalaq* met at *Iqaqpa* and discussed the matter secretly. *Pauloo* was the leading Bathurst chief at the time, but he alone did not attend the meeting at which all the others were present, though he sent a man to search a storehouse owned by the murdered women on the south side of the mouth of Bathurst Creek River, near the former Hudson's Bay Company's post. *Kilimaktuk* had a large amount of ammunition stored within, and this was brought to the house of *Pauloo*. Next morning, the chief himself appeared, his face smeared with ochre and his hair tied in a top-knot with a wound-skein. This is done by anyone who has killed a man, and it was a clear intimation that *Pauloo* had decided on war. He seated himself in the doorway of his house, a cocked musket in either hand, and announced that he would shoot anyone who passed on the sidewalk before him. For four days he sat there, neither speaking nor eating: he was mourning, as no one disregarded his wishes and the inmates even of his own house used the refuse holes for egress during that period. No other case is known of such an action, but *Pauloo* could do as he liked, and he manifested his grief and determination in this spectacular manner. On the fifth day, he ordered drums to be beaten, and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages gathered; *Pauloo* wasted no words.

"*Kilimaktuk* has been murdered," he said. "She was a chief and my relative.* I am going to war. We shall use her own powder and shot."

The ammunition was distributed and the Bathurst Coulo prepared for the expedition.

Owing to the prestige of *Pauloo*, volunteers came swarming in, not only from Bathurst itself, but from Kinnguit and Tuktoyaktuk as well. No one was thoroughly acquainted with the geography of the Kwakiutl territory except a slave named, like the Kwakiutl warrior chief, *Nauyuk*, though not, however, related to him. This man had lived among the Bathurst Coulo for so long that he was thought reliable; he readily agreed to act as guide, only asking that his old mother be spared, a request which was granted.

After the usual delays, the expedition set out and spent the first night at Kwanna. Next morning, *Kwakiutl*, one of the leading warriors, tied his hair into a top-knot and smeared his face with ochre. He was a man whose bravery had been freely established by the distribution of valuable presents. To show his valour, he stood up on the bench within easy conversational range and called out:

"Please fire at my top-knot. If you hit it and make it fall, we will lay low our foes."

---

*It is doubtful whether she was a blood-relative, but *Pauloo* used the term figuratively in speaking of one who, like himself, was a person of importance.

[illegible] (1923-1924) 1949
[illegible]
[illegible] WEST

As the crowd on the village, the mother of the slave [illegible], suspecting who they might be, cried out to Bolo Cudo to ask their identity. A chief replied and added that they had come for revenge. The son, who had taken his kill down to the creek, was told where to find his mother, so he returned her and brought her to Bolo Cudo, where she was given an honourable position instead of being treated as a slave. By noon on all concerned were invited, the Bolo Cudo warriors gathered in the opposite village to take stock of their enemy. By this [illegible] someone noticed a canoe-load of Quidduse trying to sneak away unobserved, they had no weapons and the craft was promptly stopped. One of the leading warriors, Gamwhilla, uncle of a man about sixty years of age in 1925 had been accused of his relatives during raids from the south, and had joined the expedition for revenge. He came rushing up and shot first one occupant of the canoe, and then another, slowly and deliberately, until, as he became frenzied with blood, he killed them all as quickly as possible. The mother of the Bolo Cudo slave told the raiders that there were other Quidduse villages in the neighbourhood from which help would certainly be sent. So the canoe stood as many loads of shelter grass, blankets and other valuables as possible, and [illegible] with their captives, not stopping even to fire the village.

Among the prisoners was a young woman whom the slave [illegible] recognized as a chief. She determined to help her to escape and accordingly offered to aid her escape by guarding the prisoner, without telling him of her real. The Bolo Cudo had covered about two miles, their canoes strung out in a long line, when Quidduse craft, hurrying up from other villages, appeared and a running fight ensued. In the war Bolo Cudo canoe were two hunters, both expert shots, two leaders kept handing them charges already measured out so that they were able to keep up a rapid and well-directed fire which kept the enemy at a distance. The prisoners being directly astern, several times a single bullet passed through the bodies of two warriors, and on one occasion this led to the capturing of one of their canoes. While the Bolo Cudo were reaching this canoe, [illegible] whispered to the girl to dive overboard, that she would be picked up by her friends. By swimming underwater, she deceived the Bolo Cudo who, though several saw her, thought she was an enemy, especially of a bullet from one of the marksmen. She reached her fellow-countrymen and was picked up by one of the chasing canoes. Soon afterwards [illegible] abandoned the hopeless pursuit. Some of the Bolo Cudo suffered so many and fears, but the majority thought it safer to push on and put a safe distance between them and their enemies. There is only one good harbour, Indian Cove, to their west of the coast, where they agreed to stop for a few hours if there were no canoes footprints in the

G. McDonald, B.A. (1922-1924) 1948
[illegible]
[illegible] NE
Bellabella. NE

week. Some were to be seen, but after a short labor they generally homewards where they were welcomed with wild rejoicing. It was said that they had returned promptly were messengers had been sent immediately to Quatsino, Fort Rupert, Alert Bay, and other Kwakiutl towns. A strong force was gathered as soon as possible and were brought to Salmon River, knowing that the Bella Coola would be likely to camp there. When they found that the raiders had already gone by, they pursued no further.

After this victory, the Bella Coola suffered less from the northern raiders. In future, occasional canoes were still to pass unmolested between or heavy gathers, but the Kwakiutl had learnt a salutary lesson and were very loth then forward. Where few years later, they formed a large expedition to crush the Bella Coola, but the losses were fortunes enough to have a deterrent for an another.

Some few years before the Bella Coola victory, a Bella Bella chief had decided to give an elaborate potlatch at which he would display an unusual paraphernalia consisting of twelve engaged platforms within the house. This meant that a large construction had to be made, around which the coppers were built in wooding rows. The preparation of building such a house was not unusual, but this was the largest ever known and eight years were spent in its construction. When at last it was finished, the owner prepared to invite guests from all the coastal tribes, including the Kwakiutl. He has servants in them, heading southward, passed Fitzgerald, near Queen River in Fitzhugh Sound, they met a canoe and promptly bore their attention to make known their business. Instead of moving over to the other side of the channel, the craft was paddled alongside that of the potlatch messengers, who noticed that the crew were warriors. In fact, in fact, the advance guard of the Kwakiutl expedition against the Bella Coola. Before having the men had orders to kill every person whom they met, either forgetting or deliberately overlooking the possibility of encountering potlatch servants? When the two crews to every one their oath, the occupants of the leading canoe hesitated, they had failed to grant to right of way, but feared to begin killing, and while they halted, the second craft ranged up on the other side. In one likewise hesitated to kill the messengers, and waited for the third, and then for the fourth. By which, the expedition had been travelling with the canoes in single file, three from each village together, with the leader in the rear each of the divisions. Within a few minutes, the chief of the leading were come up to the Bella Bella messengers, but

When of a coming potlatch was usually received a few the Kwakiutl was probably aware of the possibility of meeting messengers, and were in fact well armed, ready to meet the foe in such that greater the revenge.

D. MacIlwraith B-5 (1922-1924) 1948
DES DeGarmo DES
Carrier NE?

WAR WITH THE CARRIERS

The only other people with whom the Bella Coola came into frequent conflict were the Carriers. Some of the latter used to spend the winter among the coastal tribes, and had even intermarried with them to a considerable extent, but their mode of life was so different that they were always viewed as foreign in thought and outlook. The Bella Coola despised them for their dirtiness, their fondness for unnecessary food, and, above all, for their ignorance of decent and sound manners. This disdain was returned and not infrequently led to bloodshed. Owing to the location of the Carriers, they could not be reached by canoes, and the Bella Coola had no liking for long overland journeys. The mobility and relative lack of permanent villages made it difficult to bring the Carriers to bay, so that warfare between them and the Bella Coola usually took the form of a killing followed by a raid for revenge; continued hostility was virtually unknown. The people of the lower villages were rarely affected, but in former times there seems to have been a considerable amount of intermittent fighting between the inhabitants of the upper valley and the Carriers living east of them.

The following account, claimed to be historical, describes what was said to be a typical raid, followed by a counter-attack.

On one occasion all the young people of [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible], and [illegible] went on a picnic to a large, clear piece of ground up the valley, where they spent their time, playing and singing. Towards nightfall two young men, who had not come with the others, were continually until they could tell it was a friend of one of the two. She dipped all quickly from his companions and passed the night with her lover and his comrade in the woods. Towards dawn a party of marauding Carrier Indians crept down on the sleeping picnickers who, unarmed and unprepared, could make no resistance. With the exception of two pretty girls, carried off as slaves, all were slain. The three who had been in the woods hurried back to the village with the news.

The men of the four towns prepared for action. They went to the place where the slaughter took the corpses for burial, then hurrying for

Carrier NET

the first time that two girls were missing. Then they set forth on the track of the Carriers. The raiders, knowing that their assault could not have been heard in any village, and unaware of the three young people hidden in the woods, took no precautions. The first night the pursuers reached the camp where the Carriers had built a long, narrow fire of some kind of wood which smoured no sparks, on either side of which they had placed a long tree-trunk on which to rest their feet as they dried their moccasins at the flames. One of the Bella Coola girls was placed near one end of the fire, the other at the other end on the opposite side. Neither could sleep, but kept watching silently in the hope of being able to escape. Towards dawn one of them was overjoyed to see a Bella Coola woman passing around a tree-trunk. She motioned her to keep silent and she nodded to show that she understood by signs, then to move away. She told her waiting companions how the Carriers were resting with their feet over logs beside the fire, and suggested that they prepare heavy clubs. Having done this, the Bella Coola stole up behind the drowsing enemy. Each selected a victim and broke his leg, or legs, with a crash of the club. Not one of the victims escaped, the cripples being killed without difficulty. In some manner this event was made the theme of a round song.

The following unreliated incident is probably historically correct, in outline at least, since it is said to have taken place about 1880, and two of the participants were grandnephews of the man from whom the account was obtained.

One October a number of Carriers were staying at *Nyaquin*. Their chief was a certain *Qemtsilem* who was decently related to the people of that village, though he had long since ceased to be regarded as anything but a Carrier. The river was running full and though there were many rabbits and dog salmon in it, they were difficult to catch on account of the running current. A *Nyaquin* man, *Qatsmaclut*, had laid in an abundant store of fish for the winter, but he had conspired with expert how to get his water from salmon and he consented forth. A drifting log struck his canoe, he called out for help, but before it reached him, his craft capsized and he was drowned. *Qatsmaclut* was a popular man and there was great grief at his untimely death.

It was at about the time, perhaps one year later, that a certain *Nyaquin* man had become wealthy. He was a good conjurer, and his relatives had been unusually successful in making *Qaiyex* medicine, but of course such processes had been made in secret and many people wondered how he had acquired his fortune. This was enough to cause a certain amount of suspicion, and a evil disposed to take advantage of it. This man approached *Qemtsilem* and said that he believed *Nyaquin* was responsible

for Hjalmtyf's death, that he was now the wealthy man he really was, and had used some evil means to cause the fisherman's drowning. Grettir was fiercely elated at the dead man and, thus excited, determined to kill Hamdi in revenge. That evening, as he was lying playing with his grandchild, the Carver shot several big bows and threw a number against the unsuspecting man's chest. Hamdi quickly levelled down the missile so that the bolts, instead of killing him, merely passed through the fleshy part of his hips. Grettir made no attempt to run away. In such cases as these with the relatives of the injured man whether or not to take revenge, and they usually avoid beginning a vendetta unless actually driven to it. Three of the assault spread down the valley, and one of Hamdi's nephews, Torbjorn and Thorkell, came up to investigate. They were both men of considerable influence in the community, both related to various who had taken prominent parts in the unsuccessful attack on Grettir a few years before. Realizing that their uncle was not seriously wounded, the two brothers carried him to their house, intending to take him home and to disregard the assault.

During this time, the evil Thorgeir had been working on Hamdi's sons to stir them into Hamdi was certain to kill him by magical means, until he decided that he could escape only by murdering the wounded man. His followers learnt of this and tried to dissuade him, fearing the presence of the two famous warriors. As they drew near the going homestead, it was caught in an eddy and tipped so that the maidservant and both carriage boards were lost. This seemed to Grettir the chance for which he had been waiting. He took from the back and Hamdi left first, much to the consternation of his two followers as well as the Thorgeir people.

If Torbjorn and Thorkell had been ordinary men they would probably have fled in confusion but, being fully validated men of valour, the course never occurred to them.[1] Thorkell, who had one charge left in his maidservant, consulted his brother as to their course of action.

'Hamdi's dead,' his brother replied. 'It is probably time for us to die as well. I've had better days.'

Meanwhile Grettir had returned to the back, laughing at the two warriors. Thorkell still ran to his aid, then fled, instantly killing his uncle's murderer. The Carver began to run to and fro on the shore, whence they could hear the two brothers talking to each other.

'Let us not think of escaping,' said one. 'We have displeased our dishonour today. If we are to die, let us die.'

[1] The men from whom the events was obtained explained as a matter of course that validated warriors could serve two years, when promoted further, he explained that the public validation of heroes made it utterly impossible for them to be from danger.

"This account was obtained from a descendant of Tal-heet and Qaaiikaay who emphatically vouched for its accuracy. Some of the incidents have doubtless been exaggerated, but there is probably a basis of truth, though the passivity of the *Nuxalk* people is difficult to explain. The killing is said to have taken place about seventy years before 1900, so absolutely accurate confirmation of it are not impossible. No punishment was meted out to the *Nuxalk* behavior since the ritual area, the passing of unsanctioned outside the house where a ceremony was taking place, was committed by strangers, not by inhabitants of the town itself.

The tribes of the central coast, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet, were frequently engaged with enemies to north or south, but there was seldom serious bloodshed between one another. The following account, however, describes a conflict between the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet people in which the Bella Coola were not embroiled.

One favourite feats of the Rivers Inlet people on ordinary visits have become self-interpreting and still survive, were without guests. Upon neighbours, the Bella Bella, consider feats these events of dare or be disgracing, although they are feats of no account which the Rivers Inlet people regard as trifles. As already described, it was not uncommon on particular of the tribes of the more coast for the hosts to build up their guests to ridicule. On one occasion the Bella Bella did so with reference to what they considered the objectionable feat of their guests. A masked dancer, representing a stranger, entered the house and the host enquired whence he came.

"Are you from Fort Rupert?" he asked.

"No."

"From Bella Bella?"

"No."

The dancer guessed to the north as if to indicate the next question.

"Are you from Rivers Inlet?"

"Yes."

"What do you see there?"

Instead of answering verbally, the dancer then turned his right